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THE CAINGANG

By Alfred Métraux

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

101 131 The name *Caingang* (map 1, *No. 10*) was introduced in 1882 by Telemaco Morocines Borba to designate the non-*Guaraní* Indians of the States of São Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul, who previously were known as *Guayaná*, *Coroado*, *Bugre*, *Shokleng*, *Tupí*, *Botocudo*, etc., but who are all linguistically and culturally related to one another and form the southern branch of the *Ge* family (long. 50° W. between lat. 20° to 30° S.).

101 619 **Guayaná.**—These Indians appear for the first time in the literature under the name of *Guayaná* (*Goyaná*, *Goaiazes*, *Guayná*, *Wayannas*, etc.). Staden (1925, part 2, chap. 3) mentions them in the Capitania of São Vicente. Early documents assign to them the plains of Piratininga and the region where São Paulo was founded. According to Soares de Souza (1851, pp. 99–100) they were the masters of the entire coast of the present State of São Paulo, from Angra dos Reis to Cananéia. Actually, they shared the seashore with the *Guaraní*-speaking *Tupinikin*. The Portuguese chronicler describes them as noncannibalistic people with softer dispositions than the *Tupinamba*, living in the open country, and shunning the forest where they were worsted by their *Tupinamba* neighbors. Tebyreçá, who played such an important part in the early history of São Paulo, was a *Guayaná* chief. The settlement of Pinheiros, near old São Paulo, was formed by Indians of that tribe. Since the toponymy of this region is *Guaraní*, some authors consider the *Guayaná* a *Tupi-Guaraní* tribe. Though it is possible that the *Guayaná* of Piratininga spoke *Tupí*, there is little doubt that the majority of *Guayaná* belonged to a different family and were the ancestors of the modern *Caingang*. In the last century the name *Guayaná* was still applied in the State of São Paulo to a group of 200 *Caingang* who were settled in 1843 near Itapeva (Saint-Hilaire, 1830–51, 2:439–461; Machado de Oliveira, 1846, pp. 248–254).

The chronicler Rui Díaz de Guzmán (1914, p. 14) speaks of *Guayaná*, *Pattos* (*Bazas?*), *Chouas*, and *Chouacas*, who spoke related languages and had their habitat on the Piquiry River and on the Rio Negro.[1]

[1] Xarque (1909, 4:284) states that the "Guañana" were situated on the Piquiry River, near the missions of San Pedro, São Paulo, and Concepción.

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101 619 Lozano (1873–74, 1:423) calls *Guañana*, *Guayaná*, or *Gualacho* the non-*Guaraní* "who lived on the Iguassú River and extended to the Atlantic." His description of the culture of the *Guayaná* of the Iguassú River leaves little doubt that these *Guayaná* were the modern *Caingang*, the more so that the only word of their language which he mentions is a *Caingang* word (soul, "acupli"; modern, "vaicupli").

Azara (1904, pp. 404–407) divides the *Guayaná* into two unrelated groups. The first ranged west of the Uruguay River from the region of La Guayrá to an undetermined boundary in the north. These *Guayaná*, who did not speak *Guaraní*, practiced bloodletting, used long bows, and raised some crops, were certainly identical to the *Caingang* who now occupy the same territory and who share the very culture traits enumerated by Azara.

The other *Guayaná* Indians described by Azara spoke *Guaraní* and lived on the right side of the Paraná River from the Caraguarapé River to the Monday River and on the left side from Corpus to the Iguassú River. The descendants of these *Guaraní*-speaking *Guayaná* resided, at the beginning of this century, near Villa Azara, on a stream called Pirá-pytá. They disclaimed any connection with the *Caingang*, though Ramon Lista (1883) seems to have included them among the latter. (On the *Guaraní*-speaking *Guayaná*, see Vogt, 1904, pp. 216–218.)

North of these *Guaraní*-speaking *Guayaná*, on both sides of the Paraná River, lived a *Caingang* subtribe called *Ingain* (*Tain*) or *Ivotirocay*, after the stream (a western tributary of the Paraná River) on which they had their headquarters. Their bands were scattered from the stream of Ivotirocay to the vicinity of La Guayrá falls. Their name, *Tain*, suggests close affinities or identity with the *Taven*, who lived in the same region between the Paraná, the Piquiry, and the Itatú Rivers. These *Ingain* or *Taven* are the Indians whom Lista (1883) and Martinez (1904) describe as *Guayaná*. (On the *Guayaná* question, see Ihering, 1904 a, pp. 23–44; Sampaio, 1897; Martinez, 1904; Vogt, 1904, pp. 352–376.)

At the beginning of the century, *Caingang* groups could be found in the vast territory of the State of Paraná between the Iguassú and the Paranapanema Rivers, but in recent times they had no settlements near either river, but were fairly numerous along the Tibagy and Piquiry Rivers. The *Caingang* who lived between the Rio das Cinzas and the Tibagy River called themselves *Nyacfateitei;* they were separated by the Tibagy River from closely related Indians, who were their bitter enemies.

The names Votóro, Kamé, and Cayurukré, given to *Caingang* groups of Guarapuava and Palmas, are simply appelations of moiety or class subdivisions and not, as it has been long believed, of independent bands

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or subtribes. The *Dorin*, who lived on the river of the same name, and the *Taven* (see above), whose habitat was bounded by the Paraná, the Piquirý, and the Itatú Rivers, were true *Caingang* subgroups different from the subtribe of the Guarapuava region. 101 619

The first settlers of the Campos of Guarapuava found these plains in 1810 entirely occupied by *Caingang*. These Indians were placed in aldeas under the care of Father das Chagas Lima, who wrote the first eye-witness account of them. In order to prevent constant clashes between the *Caingang* and the first colonists, the Brazilian Government made various attempts to settle them in aldeamentos. In 1855–56, the settlements of São Pedro de Alcántara, San Jeronymo, and Jatahý were founded for them on the Tibagý River. However, many *Caingang* groups remained independent in the forests between the Piquirý, upper Ivahý, and the Iguassú Rivers. 101 619 648

A census of the *Caingang* of the Guarapuava region taken in 1827 by Father das Chagas Lima (1842, p. 62) gave: Kamé, 152; Votóro, 120; *Dorin*, 400; *Shocren*, 60; and *Taven*, 240. In 1905, Koenigswald (1908 a, p. 47) estimated the *Caingang* of the State of Paraná at about 2,000. 101 619 [161]

Coroado.—From the 18th century to the present day, the *Caingang* of São Paulo, Paraná, and Rio Grande do Sul have frequently been designated as *Coronado* or *Coroado* (The Crowned Ones) because of their typical Franciscan-like tonsure, a hairdress which they have abandoned only in recent years. This unfortunate term is responsible for the confusion between the *Caingang-Coroado* and the *Puri-Coroado*, who seem linguistically unrelated.

Coronado, Gualacho, and Caagua.—Lozano (1873, 1:69) applies the name "*Coronados*" to the Indians of the open plains or Campos de los Camperos, del Guarayru, del Cayyu, de los Cabelludos, and de los Coronados between the Huibay (Ivahí) and Iguassú Rivers. These *Coronado*, who were certainly *Caingang*, were the same as the *Gualacho* (*Gualachí*), *Chiqui*,[2] and *Cabelludo*, who lived in the same region. As a matter of fact, Lozano himself considers these names to be synonyms of *Guañaná* (i. e., *Guayaná*). In the Cartas Anuas of 1628 (Cartas Anuas, 1927–29, 20:344), the *Gualacho* who did not speak *Guaraní* lived 4 days' travel from the mission of San Pablo, that is to say, in the basin of the Tibagý River in the very heart of the *Caingang* region. Likewise, the *Caagua* (*Caaigua*, "Forest Dwellers") of the Jesuits who roved between the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers, near Acaray in the region of La Guaira, were undoubtedly representatives of the *Caingang* subfamily. Jesuit maps indicate other *Caagua* in the

[2] According to Xarque (1900, 2:62), the *Chiqui* lived between the Iguassú and Itatí (Iesta) Rivers.

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region of Tapé (State of Rio Grande do Sul), an area where *Caingang* groups lived until the 19th century.[2]

Tupí.—The Indians whom Azara (1809, 2:70–75) calls *Tupy*, and who formed an enclave within the *Guaraní* region, were also the ancestors of the modern *Caingang* of the upper Uruguay River. Their territory corresponded to the forested land east of the Uruguay River between the Jesuit missions of San Xavier and San Ángel and between San Xavier and lat. 27°23′ S. Jesuit sources assign to them the region extending between the headwaters of the Piratini (near San Miguel) and the Iguassú and Jacuhy (Igay) Rivers. There is not a detail in the short description of their culture given by Azara which does not fit modern *Caingang*: agriculture, tonsure, fiber cloth, shell necklaces, bow, etc. Moreover, modern *Guaraní* still apply the name *Tupí* to the *Caingang* of San Pedro in the Argentine Territory of Misiones (Ambrosetti, 1895, p. 305).

Botocudo.—The *Aweikoma-Caingang* groups of the State of Santa Catarina, have adopted the use of the labret and are, therefore, often called *Botocudo*, a name which erroneously suggests a connection with the northern *Botocudo* of the State of Espírito Santo.

Bugre.—The name *Bugre* applied by the colonists to the *Caingang* had a pejorative meaning. It is a Portuguese word of the same root as the French "bougre." The *Guaraní* also called the *Caingang* *Caauba*, and *Caahans* (Serrano, 1939, p. 25).

PRESENT SITUATION OF THE CAINGANG GROUPS

Caingang of the State of São Paulo.—At the beginning of the present century there were five groups of wild *Caingang*, known as *Coroado*, between the Peixe, and the Aguapehy (Feio) Rivers. Formerly there were also *Caingang* groups on the lower Tieté River. They resisted the advance of the Whites and continually assaulted the workers building the railroad from São Paulo to Corumbá. In 1910, thanks to the efforts of General Rondon and of the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios, peace was established and many *Caingang* settled around the two government posts created for them near the Aguapehy (Feio) River. Horta Barbosa (1913, p. 24), who was one of the inspectors of the Indian Service, estimated the number of *Caingang* in that region at 500. The *Caingang* of São Paulo are also known as *Nyacfatellei* (*Nyakfã-d-ag-téie*, "Those with the long frontal hair").

Caingang of the State of Paraná.—The *Caingang* who are now established around Palmas in the State of Paraná come from the region between the Iguassú and Uruguay Rivers. In 1938, they lived in two villages near Palmas: Toldo las Lontras, on the river of the

[2] Serrano (1941) extends the southern limit of the *Caingua* to the Santa Lucia River in Corrientes.

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same name, and Toldo de Chapecó, in the region of Xanxerê. According to Baldus (1935), the population of the first village was 108, that of the second was somewhat higher but no exact figure is given. In earlier sources, the *Caingang* of the region of Palmas are often designated as Kamé after one of their moiety subdivisions.

Caingang of Santa Catarina (*Shokleng, Socré, Botocudo, Aweikoma*).—The nomadic or half-nomadic *Caingang* who ranged in the State of Santa Catarina from the Timbo River to the forests of the Serra do Mar and from the Rio Negro to the Uruguay River are better known as *Bugre*, a derogatory term given to them by their enemies the White settlers, or as *Shokleng*, or *Botocudo* of Santa Catarina because of their wooden labrets. Nimuendajú calls them *Aweikoma*, a word of their language meaning Indians. Though they differ culturally from the Paraná *Caingang* (Baldus, 1937 c), there is little doubt that they belong to the same linguistic family, even if their dialect is not easily understood by the *Caingang* of Palmas.

During the whole 19th century, the *Aweikoma-Caigang* of Santa Catarina have stubbornly opposed the encroachments of the Brazilian and German settlers. They were constantly pursued by professional Indian hunters, the famous "bugreiros," until the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios intervened on behalf of the remnants of the tribe. Most of them were settled in the Reservation Duque de Caixas (Municipality of Dalbergia), near the junction of the Plate River with the Rio Itajahi do Norte. In 1930, the reservation consisted of 106 persons. Another small group of *Caingang* was reported in 1935 at São Jão, south of Porto da União.

Caingang of Rio Grande do Sul.—The *Caingang* who ranged north of the Uruguay River from the mouth of the Pepiri-guassú River to that of the Rio das Canoas and those who lived between the Rio das Canoas and the Rio Pelotas were distinct from the *Aweikoma*, though the demarcation between *Caingang-Coroado* and "*Botocudo*" cannot be exactly ascertained. The *Caingang* of the northern bank of the Uruguay River were the same as, or closely related to, the groups who had their villages between the Serra Geral, the upper Uruguay River, and the Sete Missões.

In 1850 Jesuit missionaries founded three settlements for the *Caingang* of the upper Uruguay: Nonohay, Campo do Meio, and Guarita. The Indians of Nonohay numbered about 400; those of Campo do Meio, 90. The Jesuit missions were short-lived; Nonohay, however, was restored in 1872 with 300 *Caingang*, who at the end of the century were almost entirely absorbed into the local rural population. According to Von Ihering (1895, p. 40), six "aldeamentos" of *Caingang* existed in 1864 in the State of Rio Grande do Sul, with a total population of about 2,000. In 1880, their number was already greatly reduced. In the same period "wild" *Caingang* were reported

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between the Taquarí and Cahy Rivers. Today their settlements lie between Inhacorá (Nucorá) (long. 54°15′ W.) and Lagoa Vermelha (long. 51°30′ W.).

The Caingang of Misiones, Argentina.—At the end of the 19th century about 60 *Caingang* lived in the Argentine Territory of Misiones on the eastern slopes of the Sierra Central, 3 miles (5 km.) from the town of San Pedro, near the Yabotí River. According to Ambrosetti (1895, p. 307), these Indians, who were known in the region as *Tupí*, had come from Palmas or Rio Grande by crossing the upper Uruguay River. A few years later (1902), some of them returned to Brazil.

Literature on the Caingang.—Few data on the *Caingang* can be gleaned from the Colonial literature. Though the *Caingang* are often mentioned in the Jesuit texts on the Paraguayan missions, Lozano (1873–74, 1:418–427) and Azara (1904, pp. 402–407) are the only authors who give short, but fairly accurate, descriptions of these Indians. The accounts of Father Luiz de Cemitille and of Telemaco Morocines Borba were for many years our best sources. Later, L. B. Horta Barbosa (1913) published very exact observations on their customs, which were supplemented by Manizer (1930). Ambrosetti (1895) has written an interesting article on the *Caingang* of San Pedro, in Misiones. The social organization and funerary rites of the *Caingang* were the subject of a special monograph by Baldus (1937 c). Henry (1941) studied the decadent remnants of the *Aweikoma* group and described their culture in psychological terms. Their language is known mainly through an excellent dictionary by Father Mansueto Barcatta de Valfloriana (1918, 1920) and a linguistic analysis by Jules Henry (1935). Ploetz and Métraux (1930) have attempted to bring together most of the data about the *Caingang* contained in the literature up to 1928.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Farming.—The only *Caingang* who subsisted entirely by hunting and collecting were those of the State of Santa Catarina, the so-called *Botocudo or Aweikoma*. These Indians, however, remembered a time when they, like all other *Caingang* groups, practiced agriculture.

The ancient *Guayaná*, ancestors of the modern *Caingang*, are described as relatively sedentary agriculturists, though our sources stress the importance of hunting in their economy. This was also true for the *Caingang* at the end of the 19th century. All their groups raised maize (red, white, and violet varieties), pumpkins, and beans (a white variety), but perhaps depended less than their *Guaraní* neighbors on these crops. Like many Indians who had become acquainted with farming in recent times through the intermediary of

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V

Disruptive Forces in Kaingáng Society

182 571 THE VERY FORMLESSNESS OF KAINGÁNG society makes us wonder what gave it coherence. There were no territorial boundaries to limit the range of the hunter, there was no chief or government to impose its will on the people, there were no binding marriage forms and incest restrictions were minimal. Marriage was brittle, and even the polyandrous and joint households, by far the most stable units in the society, included only 20 percent of the married population. Men were torn between the ties of blood and the ties of marriage; they spent their years fluctuating between groups of both kinds and haunted by a sense of insecurity.

619 182 571 578 The mechanism of kinship did not enforce cooperation among specific individuals, and there was no large unit of specific outline that might accomplish coordination of effort in some other way. The cooperation among in-laws might be broken almost without reproach, and the ties that bound children to their parents or to one another yielded to the strain of affinal relationships or to stronger bonds that grew up between men and their hunting companions. Yet, with all this, Kaingáng society could have held together, however haphazardly its bonds are slung, for the Kaingáng have a strong sense of being one people against other people. After all, they are all related to one another by blood, and they are all "*our* people" or "*our* living things" to one another, as opposed to all other "living things" that have no possessive pronoun to bring them within the group. They felt the need for renewing ever and again their informal contacts, and whoever let the years pass as he lived in isolation wandering thoughtlessly in a distant part of the forest risked a quarrel when he met again the people he had neglected. The very lack of fixity of relationships and the multitude of ways of forming them left the Kaingáng with no device for controlling a

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649 conflict. Once a feud arose there was nothing, neither dominating ties of
182 blood nor the voice of chieftainship or government, to stop or limit it.
571 Where the demands of kin by marriage conflicted with the claims of blood
578 and where the call of a hunting companion whose bed one had shared clamored above the voices of blood and affinity the individual was pulled in a dozen directions, by a dozen magnets. Feuds spread, cleaving the society asunder like a deadly axe, blighting its life like the plague. Thus it came about that the very forces of integration carried the seeds of disruption within them. A man's link with his wife's people pulled him from his siblings; his bond with his sister's husband tore him from his wife's people; and his relationships with his hunting companions drew him from all.

582 The Kaingáng are divided into extended families ranging in numbers
596 from 50 to 300 individuals. These families are made up of the descendants
571 of two or more men who have intermarried and whose children have intermarried. Thus each family is closely inbred, and almost every member can trace his genealogy[1] to one of the two or more male ancestors. These ancestral males are real personalities, and the data on them is usually rather full, but there is always a point beyond which memory cannot go, and it is impossible to learn anything about any of their parents or siblings. Marriages with other extended families occurred, but marriages within the families far outnumber marriages between the families. This endogamy was brought about not by a specific taboo on marrying outside but by the hostility between the families which made them distrust one another and which kept them apart. When members of different families did marry it almost always caused a split in the ranks of one or both of the intermarrying groups. In such a case brother might be aligned against brother to the death. Those who shifted from one family to another either through marriage or through having been captured as youngsters were looked on as blood relatives of their new associates and hence as enemies to their former friends and were given no quarter in case of attack by members of the family to which they once belonged.

The Kaingáng call members of their own extended family "my own people," and the warm personal relationships that have been described in the preceding chapters exist only among one's "own people." For hundreds of years there have been several Kaingáng extended families and they have lived in a state of perpetual feud with one another. Whole lineages have been destroyed, and others, overcome by panic, have wandered away into the endless forests, never to be heard of again. Sometimes two extended families have come together and have been able to live in peace, but gen-

[1] The Kaingáng are minutely interested in their own genealogies, and they know who their father's father's father's son's wife's sister's daughter's husband is down to the last detail of all his names, what he died of, and how many children he had.

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Kaingáng have attempted the same extension of their positive emotional relationships, but with little success. The supernatural, to them, is an embodiment of terrors; for it is burdened with portents of death, and no matter what benefits the Kaingáng derive from the supernatural, death always dominates their outlook. In *vayú,* divining by belching, the great preoccupation is escape from death; *kumbĕdn,* divining by insects in the ashes of the dead, is completely devoted to omens of death; *kóplĕgn,* divining with charcoal, is concerned with the location of animals that may be hunted and killed, or with the impending death of human beings, and the meteorological omens of rain, darkness, tempest, and flood are all portents of death.

The oral functions of biting, spitting, and blowing form part of supernatural curing techniques, but belching has been elevated to prophetic dignity. Through *vayú,* divining by belching, the Kaingáng obtain many important insights. Any adult who feels that he can divine by belching may take this function on himself, and he or she may be sought out and asked to drink an infusion of *matte*[26] so that his belches may give some information about the chances of death from the enemy, the hunting prospects in a given direction, or the whereabouts of a lost dog. The oracular belch always comes in answer to a request that is usually put to the practitioner in a form like this: "Belch to see whether, if I go to look for my wife and child, the enemy will see me." Then the practitioner drinks the infusion, and if he belches strongly it means "No"; and if weakly, "Yes."

Kumbĕdn, divining by insects, is connected with the exogamous system which the Kaingáng say they possessed far back in ancient times. According to this tradition the Kaingáng were divided into five groups, with each of which was associated a set of personal names and a design with which its members used to paint their bodies.[27] The Kaingáng still use these designs, but their only functions for two hundred years or more have been to protect the wearers against *kuplĕng* and supposedly to provide a point of reference for this system of divining by insects. To each group belong certain insects, the presence of which in funeral ashes betokened the impending death of a member of the group. A certain fly and a little butterfly called *toto,* for example, indicated the future death of those who use the dot pattern; and other insects, among them all the different varieties of bees, a wasp, and insects that the Indians call *úpá* and *thathakumbĕdn* foretold the death of someone who bore the line pattern.

In spite of the precise way in which the Kaingáng formulate it, they

[26] This is the familiar *yerba maté* or *matte* that grows wild in southeastern South America, particularly in Brazil, Argentina, and Paraguay.

[27] See Appendix II for full explanation of this scheme.

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Appendix II

Body Paints and Kinship System[1]

THE THEORETICAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE, which has been largely so much cultural flotsam for at least two hundred years and probably much longer, divides the Kaingáng into five groups. To each group belongs a distinct body-paint design and a series of personal names. Throughout the six generations of the genealogies these names are repeated many times. All the people wearing the same design are *kôika hẽ*,[2] good people, to one another. Each design has a name that describes its objective character, and all those who wear it are grouped together under one of the personal names belonging to the group. Two marks, however, the disc and the horizontal bar with vertical lines, are not distinguished by one particular name. The scheme may be tabulated as follows:

Group name	*Design*	*Name of design*	*Translation*
Wanyekí *kôika hẽ*	●	*mẽvidn*	scattered all over
Klendó *kôika hẽ*	|	*kalẽbm*	coming down
Kainlé *kôika hẽ*	○	*kuikẽn*	in a ring
None	▥	*kakẽng ku kalẽbm*	horizontal and coming down
None	●	*kanẽm*	placed there

[1] This discussion is abstracted from a study of genealogies of more than 500 individuals. They include the ancestors of all the people on the reservation today back to the great grandparents.

[2] *KÔIKA*, relatives; *hẽ*, whole, serviceable.

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619 The names of the marks are simply descriptive. *Mevidn* refers to small 302 dots scattered all over the body, *kalébm* to vertical lines drawn downward, etc.

All people having the same mark are *kôika hẽ* to one another, but in addition a man calls all the women having the same mark as he *yôkẽ*,[3] and these women call him *kôika hẽ*. He calls all men with a different mark from his own *wamǫ́*,[4] and all women in a similar position he calls *plų*, sexual partner.[5] Women call all women with marks different from their own *wamǫ́*, and all men in a similar position are called *mbâdn*, sexual partner.[5] Women with the same mark call each other *kôika hẽ*. Men with the same mark call each other *kôika hẽ*.

Even two hundred years ago a very large number of people had names from at least two groups, and a not inconsiderable number had names from three. Thus the groups are not separate. Within the obvious limits of historical investigation they have not formed the basis for any systematic organization. Marks do not descend systematically from parents or any other relatives to the younger generation, and there is no fixed system through which names are given to children. In general close relatives give the names of their own close relatives to newborn children. Individuals may have anywhere from one to eight names.

There was considerable disagreement among my informants as to the marks belonging to each person, and even though they might agree on his names they very often disagreed as to the marks proper to his names. Certain names, however, are associated by everyone with the same marks. Among the not inconsiderable number[6] of such names are the basic ones, Wanyekí, Klendó, and Kainlé.

The present-day Kaingáng say that people having the same marks cannot marry, but for two hundred years there has been absolutely no attempt to live up to the theory, and no feeling of shame is connected with marrying a person of the same mark. If the conversation happens to turn on the subject of the marks light jesting may arise in connection with some couple who both have the same marks. In general, however, the subject is sociosexually a dead issue.

Extensive checking shows that the marking scheme not only does not regulate marriage but also has nothing to do with the composition of hunting bands, the distribution of food and property, or the cremation of

[3] *yôk*, formal prefix; *ẽ*, woman.

[4] *wa*, formal prefix; *mǫ́*, dative. It implies the giving of something to someone and may actually have something to do with the belief that in the beginning some groups gave some of their personal names to other groups that did not have enough.

[5] See kinship terms p. 178.

[6] Exactly 49 out of 193, i.e. 25 percent.

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the dead.[7] The only function of the marks is magical. When a person dies all the people around him paint themselves with their marks in order to frighten the *kuplêng* away. "It sees them and becomes afraid and goes." A widowed person, a *thâpaya*, paints himself with marks other than his own on his return from his period of isolation in order that the *kuplêng* may not recognize him. About five years before my arrival a number of people added the circle design to their other marks because when Kemblén died he told all the people to change their marks "so that the *kuplêng* would see it and go away."

A number of kinship usages are explained on the basis of the marks. These will be discussed in the section on the kinship system. It is only necessary to say here that all such explanations are purely theoretical and do not support kinship usage.

The Kinship System

(1) *plą*, wife; women with whom a man has had sexual relations; women with marks different from a man, and with whom, therefore, such relationships are "permissible."

(2) *mbŏdn*, husband; men with whom a woman has had sexual relations; men with marks different from a woman, and with whom, therefore, such relationships are "permissible."

(3) *yâgn*, father; grandfather; all males much older than Ego;[8] men who have had relations with Ego's mother.

(4) *nyǫ́*, mother; grandmother; all females much older than Ego; women who have had relations with Ego's father.

(5) *nyungnyên*, all blood relatives excepting real parents and grandparents and grandparents' siblings and own children. All members of the same extended family. It is often used specifically for Ego's own brothers, sisters, and first cousins, and for anyone about Ego's own age. In this case the term becomes reciprocal. It may be used also for anyone a little older than Ego. All individuals having the same mark as Ego.

(6) *yuvi*, all people somewhat younger than Ego.

(7) *yi*, child; all people very much younger than Ego and the children of all the people with whom Ego has had sexual relations.

(8) *klą*, offspring. Tapirs and dogs have *klą*, but to speak of an animal's *yi* provokes laughter.

(9) *yŏmbld*, (plural) *yĕgnmbld*, all the blood relatives of No. 2 and No. 1. In a more limited sense, all the No. 5 of No. 2 and No. 1 with the

[7] See fn. 1, p. 175.

[8] Egocentric speaking or spoken about.

285 Chusquea pinifolia--Translator] strips which vary only in their width
415 and thickness.

The larger waxed baskets are used as a sort of pail to convey water and honey. The small baskets, also waterproof, are used as vessels--mugs of a sort--for water and for mong-ma on festive occasions.

286 The Botocudo do not plait fans or mats. But they do weave a
482 strap, eight centimeters in width, tied at the ends with a special slipping knot which permits its shortening or lengthening. These straps are woven, sometimes in two colors, of embira fiber. The women use
[854] them placed against the forehead, or against the top of the head, to carry children. The Botocudo carry everything in this fashion, with the weight steadied against the head and resting along the back.

412 These Indians use large tongs made of taquarucu [a large bamboo, Guadua superba--Translator] or hard wood. These pincers are used to remove food from the fire and from boiling pots. They are called ko-pama, "wooden hand."

619 The Botocudo make up a single tribe composed of various families with equal rights.

622 Power rests with a single chief, pahi, who steers the destinies of the tribe and usually rules on all its actions.

The chief wields this power as long as his worth as a brave and fearless warrior is recognized by all. In his absence the most experienced and courageous warriors take over and exert authority upon the other members of the tribe.

When elderly the chief transfers his command to a worthy warrior, without losing his ascendancy over the tribe. He becomes its respected and venerated counselor.

595 The Botocudo are polygamous. According to his worth, the warrior usually marries two or three women; the chiefs always take more than three wives. [126]

304 On reaching adulthood the youths are tattooed on the arm with a warrior's badge, which consists of two dots laid horizontally. As they prove their manly qualities they are granted another two marks,
[512] tattoed similarly underneath the first. Once thus admitted among the warriors, they are considered ready to marry.